

One Size Does Not Fit All: A Conceptual Community Development Framework

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ABSTRACT

Any community development plan needs to account for a multitude of factors and variables—physical environments, cultural contexts, and historical and political relations. In addition, every community has specific needs and therefore one community development plan cannot be applied to multiple communities. One size does not fit all. This thesis will examine some of the problems with current development plans and frameworks that seek to homogenize communities and their needs. In this thesis I will explore how all of these factors need to be taken into account for community development initiatives. From there I will propose a conceptual framework of the key issues that need to be accounted for in the development of any specific plan.

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INTRODUCTION

Theories of community development cannot be universal. Rather, numerous conditions need to be addressed individually in order to assure community development plans meet the needs specific to each community. Many current plans seek to identify community development as one goal. Instead, these plans need to break down the strategies involved into aspects that, while address some broadly shared underpinnings, can be adopted by each community differently to meet their individual needs in sustainable and culturally appropriate ways. ‘Development,’ as described by Cavaye (2006: 1) is a process to increase choice. When applied to communities and termed ‘Community Development’ it serves to better the community’s ability to manage change in such a way that will improve their options (Cavaye, 2006: 1). In this thesis community development specifically applies to the improvement of a community’s livelihood and wellbeing.

Communities are both social and physical. As such, any attempts at providing guidance for community development must attend to, and account for the culturally specific ways that communities organize themselves internally, and the relationships between communities, their needs and the physical environments within which they are situated. Thus, it is important to note that every community has specific needs and therefore one community development plan cannot be applied to all communities.

This thesis will address the problems with many current development plans and frameworks that seek to homogenize communities and their needs. It will examine both

the social and physical aspects of communities and the effects they have on successful and sustainable development plans for specific communities. As well as addressing the problems that can arise, this thesis will propose a conceptual framework of the key issues that need to be accounted for in the development of any specific plan. In closing I will examine tourism, as an industry and set of practices, for what it stands to offer to the process of sustainable community development.

Before addressing community development issues and solutions it is important to confront the terminology; where it comes from and why it is used. Escobar (1994) discusses the creation of the terms ‘underdeveloped’ and the Third World. He reveals that the very notion of ‘development’ is historically contingent. In the wake of the Post World War II rise in globalizing capitalism, poverty became inevitable and economic growth a necessity. Capitalism’s insistence on the accumulation of surplus and the need to exploit resources and labour to meet this goal led to increased global and local structural inequalities. Poverty and social inequalities are requirements of capitalism. Escobar (1994) suggests that some were left out of this surge of economic growth because ‘development’ was largely guided by “...a top down, ethnocentric and technocratic approach” (Escobar, 1994: 44). Essentially, ‘development’ came to be framed exclusively as a struggle for resources and industrial materials. Those who did not have the resources suffered economic hardships because they did not have access to economic wealth or the means to produce such wealth. As a result, they were unable to ‘develop’ at the same rate as the wealthier countries and quickly were labelled ‘underdeveloped.’

As such, the notion of the Third World and equating this label with ‘underdevelopment’ is an ethnocentric construct manifested and maintained by the First World. The First World formulates the conditions by which ‘underdevelopment’ occurs. Driven by capitalist interests determined to accumulate capital by way of exploitative practices, neoliberal policies and lending structures lock countries in “have” or “have not”, First or Third World dichotomies (Sawyer 2004). With a structure of globalized inequalities firmly in place, the self-identified First World labels the other the “Third.” What’s more is that from there the conditions of ‘underdevelopment’ (defined in relation to First World standards of capitalist values) it is labelled a “problem” in need of a solution. In response to this newly created “problem” of ‘underdevelopment’ an industry and set of academic theories emerge to guide the process of solving the problem (Escobar 1994).

In essence, the very notion of the Third World can only occur under the culturally created rules of the First World. Those areas are then labelled incapable of ‘developing’ independently as they “fall behind” the standards set by the ‘developed’ First World. The structures of global inequality are created and reinforced. As this idea became more prevalent, it became hegemonic and ingrained into society. The result, according to Escobar (1994), was the creation of the Third World.

Therefore the notion of ‘development’ is culturally constructed. We cannot talk about community development without first determining who is defining it. The first task thus of this thesis is to deconstruct what is meant by ‘development’ and the major schools of thought informing approaches to applied community development plans. Currently there are four prominent theories of development that seek to classify and determine

‘underdevelopment’. These are: the theory of modernization, the dependency theory, the world systems theory, and the theory of globalization.

Modernization theory attempts to explain the social evolution that occurs from a pre-developed state to a state where a culture or community may compete in the modern world. It is often associated with urbanization and industrialization (Kendall, 2007). This theory presupposes that every community wants to join the ‘modern,’ ‘developed’ world and that the way to accomplish this is to join the tide of industrial “progress.” It is worth noting the ethnocentric foundation of this theoretical model as it insists that not only should every community want to “modernize” (in the terms of Western modernity) but that it is the Western Industrial world that holds the expertise needed to achieve this goal.

Dependency theory is formulated on the belief that wealthy countries receive their wealth by exploiting the resources and labour of poor countries. This happens by way of ‘leakage’ whereby income flows from poor countries to the richer countries. The poor stay poor while the rich increasingly see benefits. The result is the creation of a reliance of poor countries on wealthier countries for economic stability. In order to meet the needs of their dependant relationship on richer countries, poor countries must borrow money from international lending agents, putting them further into debt and deepening their dependence. This dependency only solidifies their label as an ‘underdeveloped’ country in need of First World assistance. Again we can clearly see that the relationship of exploitation and dependence created by the First World is what serves in the making and maintenance of the Third World.

The last two theories examine ‘underdevelopment’ from a global perspective and attempt to describe the Third World in terms of not just rich and poor or westernization

and non-westernized but rather as a global entity. World systems theory attempts to understand social constructs as a joint and unified entity, exploring the whole rather than the sum of the parts. A central element to this theory is the different forms that capitalism plays around the globe. It is an expansion of the dependency theory to account for that which the dependency theory could not. This includes the expansion of eastern areas of Asia, crises among socialist groups that signalled the decline of Marxism, and finally the fading notion of American hegemony in the capitalist world economy (Reyes, 2001: 10). All of this pointed to the idea that the nation-state level of analysis was no longer suitable for examining 'development' and 'underdevelopment.' This view theorized that the Third World began to see new options for 'development' in the 1960s. It was suggested that "...the international financial and trade systems began to have a more flexible character, in which national government actions were having less and less influence" (Reyes, 2001: 10).

The theory of globalization adopts a much different approach by attempting to incorporate every aspect from which 'development' might occur. This could include: culture, worldviews, production, trade, religion, economy and most importantly, communication (Carpenter, 1999). The most important of these aspects to consider in this theory is communication as it is the reason that knowledge, technology and world advancements can be shared and learned. Unlike the dependency theory that suggests resources and wealth are extracted from 'less developed' countries to benefit the 'developed,' globalization suggests that resources and technology actually flow downward. Advancements in technology operate within 'developed' countries, but this technology is eventually passed down to smaller and 'less developed' nation and states,

leading to better communication and interaction (Reyes, 2001: 13). The theory of globalization attempts to explain the efforts by which 'development' can begin on a worldwide scale. It examines how every country participates in 'development.' This theory suggests more of a spectrum of 'development' rather than complete labels of 'developed' and 'underdeveloped.'

When examining these four theories of 'development' it is important to understand the ethnocentrism involved. These theories are the product of First World scholarship and practices that emerge from the same cultural space that created the conditions of global inequalities and the subsequent notion of 'underdevelopment' in the first place. These theories are created by the First World in an attempt to describe and pose solutions to the problems they created.

SO WHAT DO WE DO?

No matter the cause, or complex of causes (or theories about these causes!), the result is that there is now a structure of global inequality resulting in real and immediate human suffering. It is thus not enough to critique how we got here. We need to attend to that suffering in meaningful and responsible ways. This thesis is aimed at examining how we do that in ways that do not simply reconstitute the power relations leading to the problems in the first place.

Given that the very notion of 'development' is culturally constructed, the first step in a community development plan needs to be a dialogue with a community about how they see their needs or wants. What does 'development' ultimately look like to each community? This is the point at which a development plan starts and can be constructed

successfully. Once a community has clearly outlined their visions and version of what 'development' means to them, progress can begin on how best to facilitate the actions to meet their goals. From there we can begin to examine the social and material complexities that will either hinder or facilitate the operationalization of the community's vision.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A community development plan will not work unless it is consistent with cultural values, ideologies and ways of life of the community for which it is intended. Culture is the learned, integrated, symbolic, ever-changing, shared matrix of meaning-making through which people interpret, make sense of, and survive in the world (Haviland, Kilmurray, Fedorak & Lee, 2013: 30). Culture is the complexes of beliefs and practices through which people organize themselves socially and adapt to physical environments to meet their basic needs. As such, the rules by which people can live in a society are based on their collective cultural values, beliefs and standards. Culture defines how a society lives, operates and is organized as a community. Culture and community connect on a basic level. Gendered relations and divisions of labour, subsistence strategies, kinship structures and residence patterns are all culturally specific. As such, understanding the unique social and cultural dynamics of a community is the foundation upon which all other aspects of a community are built. Any attempts at community development, be they economic, tourism, infrastructure, agriculture or social need all to flow from collective community goals and be compatible with specific cultural contexts.

The foundational building blocks of social organization are kinship relations and the distribution of power in a community. Understanding the division of power and labour determines basic community structure. Everything from subsistence strategies to basic economic workings of a community flow from how power and labour are distributed. We must thus understand how kinship lineages are structured and the role that they play in organizing gendered and aged divisions of labour. It is essential that we step outside of our cultural bounds to understand the differences that make communities unique in order to truly understand how they operate. Only then can we understand the specifics of each culture what is necessary to create a successful community development plan that will suit an individual community's needs and wants in a respectable and sustainable manner.

Social Inequalities

The next critically important factor to consider is the distribution of power and privilege in a community. When examining the success of a community, it is important to understand why these communities are experiencing the economic and 'development' hardships that prevent them from reaching their potential. This often means understanding internal structures of social stratification and the forces of social marginalization working to create and maintain systems of inequalities.

Cultural anthropologist Philippe Bourgois' (2003) ethnographic approach to examining the poverty and marginalization of the Puerto Rican culture in East Harlem (El Barrio), New York best illustrates the forces that create and suppress minority groups. Bourgois' work is extremely important because he does not impart second hand

knowledge, but rather relates personal experiences and stories from his five years in El Barrio. In community development work, ethnographic research is invaluable. Not only is it needed to gather a sense of the cultural context, as mentioned above, it also allows for a clear understanding of the ways that social inequality impacts people and communities on the ground in real time.

In his attempt to unravel the constructs and factors that create social marginalization within El Barrio, Bourgois (2003) exposes the notion of hegemony. Hegemony is the process by which those oppressed internalize the forces the oppressor inflicts upon them. These forces are institutionalized, reactivated and maintained to the point where they become ingrained within society. Although these hegemonic forces are present in every society, the more prominent the negative dynamism, the more the culture struggles in developing and maintaining a uniform community. This is reinforced through one of the author's conversations with Primo – a Puerto Rican local in El Barrio, and a friend of Bourgois. "If I have a problem it is because I brought it upon myself. Nobody gotta worry about me; I'm gunna handle it. It's my problem" (Bourgois, 2003, p.54). Primo has been led to believe that all of his problems are a direct result of his own failures. He has been misdirected and even brainwashed to accept that he is responsible, not those who hold power over him. Primo then separates and isolates himself from the community creating a divide. Primo's internalization of what Bourgois calls the structural failings of the United States works to break down social cohesion and mechanical solidarity (Durkheim, 1893). In its place it is a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby the most marginalized and disenfranchised internalize their lack of success as

personal failings and the structures causing the conditions of their oppression are left unchallenged.

Bourgois ethnographic research illuminates how power and privilege based upon class, race and gender, create a social hierarchy by which minority groups are marginalized to a place where work and jobs are difficult to obtain. He explores the careers and jobs his friends in El Barrio have worked, all of whom were subsequently forced into a life of crime and illegal activities. Most of the women within El Barrio do not work in the legitimate market economy, which clearly illustrates the distribution of power and privilege at a local level. There are limited options available to women and as a result many find themselves dependant on abusive male partners to survive. The conditions of these women's oppression are reconstituted in their domestic arrangements as disenfranchised male partners take their frustrations out on women and their children. Women become active agents in the conditions of their own abuse and oppression and the structures of inequality again remain unchallenged.

Bourgois concludes his ethnography by saying that the street life in El Barrio is the result of the "...ethnic-based apartheids" (2003: 319) that marginalize and divide the power among the people. Oppressed and marginalized men oppress and marginalize women and children who in turn internalize these conditions as all they deserve. This separation of people into places of power and privilege is what ultimately impedes social cohesion and divides the community. The broader structures of classed and racialized inequality in the United States remains in tact to continue the processes of marginalization that results in immediate and real social suffering.

The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order (Huntington, 1996) was established on the idea that the great division of civilizations would not be economical, but rather cultural. Huntington (1996) recognized that social cohesion was the foundation by which all other interaction can exist. He hypothesized that “nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations” (Huntington, 1996: 1). Essentially, it is not the world’s economical status, but instead, the cultural differences that will drive the global politics which actively determine and reinforce the notions of ‘underdevelopment’ and the Third World. The work of Huntington (1996) exhibits the need to examine culture as a method of social unity. In contrast to the four main theories of ‘development,’ Huntington’s work (1996) denies the economical and technological reasons for ‘development,’ but rather distinguishes that it is the power distribution within cultures that allow for the global hierarchy.

Cultural Practice

As we have seen, communities are formed by an amalgamation of multiple practices, beliefs, cultures and more; thus, solidarity is vital to the social mechanics of sustainable community development. Social cohesion is essential to a sustainable community structure. Cultural expression is perhaps the most important way of creating this unity and acceptance. There are many forms of cultural expression that can serve to nurture senses of social cohesion and work to push back against hegemonic structures of oppression and marginalization.

In a struggle for self identity and equality, Canadian Aboriginal people in both northern and southern Canada fight to be able to express their cultural beliefs. Two significant forms of cultural practice for Canadian Aboriginals are Friendship Centres and Pow Wows. Both attempt to carve out spaces where cultural practices and senses of self-hood are valued. These spaces are important to Aboriginal peoples in Canada because of the history of colonial oppression and marginalization that structures Aboriginal-Non Aboriginal relations in the country.

Friendship Centres can provide a sense of home for those Aboriginal people moving to the city, they can provide support for those in need, and are welcoming to anyone wishing to learn and partake in Aboriginal culture. “The creation of Aboriginal institutions serving urban Aboriginal needs and participating in the politics of the city, is a way we make the city ours as well (Newhouse, 2011: 6). Friendship centres are especially important in urban areas where freedom of culture is suppressed due to colonial oppression. These centres are open to helping urban Aboriginal people make their way in urban centres. Most have clear goals, such as the Vancouver Aboriginal Friendship Centre Society, who claim in their mission statement to “provide programs in health, welfare, social services, human rights, culture, education, recreation and equality for all genders of aboriginal people of all age groups” (VAFCS, 2012). Friendship Centres also help and assist urban Aboriginals with cultural identity and cohesion in an urban setting. Ultimately, these centres are about providing opportunity for Aboriginals in an urbanized, majority society so that they may take their place along side any other urban citizens while still having a place to maintain their cultural values that serve to

sustain their cohesion with the Aboriginal community. This sense of cultural belonging and maintenance of culture supports community wellbeing and unity.

Community Events and Participation

Successful communities have strong ties to community involvement. A study by Awortwi (2013) suggested that community participation led to community development project effectiveness. Community gatherings such as the Native Pow wow have become a staple image for Native North Americans. They are an important public expression of Indian culture and Native social practice (Valaskakis, 2005: 153). Valaskakis describes the Pow wow as being “‘magical’ or having shamanistic rites, or being historically situated ceremonies” (2005: 153). Community development, regardless of rural or urban, can only achieve unity through the freedom and acceptance of cultural expression. Pow Wows are a fantastic example of public cultural expression. These events can draw thousands of supporters from around the region to partake and build pride in Aboriginal culture. Furthermore, they establish space for Native cultural expression in colonial dominated society. Pow Wows are a statement that exclaim Aboriginal strength and promote cultural cohesion. It is important to note that each Pow wow is different and will express the different cultural views of different bands. Regardless of the different cultural views, they are all forms of cultural expression as a form of social distinction in a colonial environment which seeks to denounce non-colonial cultures. And thus, events such as the Pow Wow are crucial in unifying cultures to create a foundation from which they can promote cultural and community growth.

The Pow Wow is one example of a distinct culture performance that nurtures community and pride. Another example of such an event are local farmers markets. Empirical research has shown that the implementation of local food markets to a community can increase job opportunities and income to the community as a whole (Martinez et al., 2010: 43). As seen in Bourgois' (2003) ethnographic research, crime and poverty are a direct result from the exclusion and rejection from the mainstream labour force. This suggests that increased employment opportunities and income may reduce crime and poverty, thus improving living standards, social status and access to both power and privilege.

Another study examined community participation as a form of community health and defined the process by four principles in which community members will (a) develop the capability to assume greater responsibility for assessing their health needs and problems; (b) plan and then act to implement their solutions; (c) create and maintain organizations in support of these efforts; and (d) evaluate the effects and bring about necessary adjustments in goals and programmes on an ongoing basis (Zakus & Lysack, 1998: 2). The authors found these strategies supported health and social benefits. Awortwi (2013) linked community participation to increased income levels and housing status suggesting that programs that involve community participation can improve social community development. Awortwi (2013: 102) also found that households that do not participate in community events experience more difficulty overcoming marginalized status and social inequalities. This is a result of those who participate receive benefits economically and socially. Community support and participation directly leads to improvement in quality of life, both physically and socially.

Social organization sets the stage from where community development can begin. Social systems are built on power and labour distribution that can create social inequalities and lead to the marginalization of cultures. This puts them in a place where they are subject to discrimination based upon gender, race, ethnicity and class. Furthermore, it forces them into a life of poverty and crime, and they believe it is their fault. Those who oppress them, those with power, reap the benefits of those who are oppressed. But there are ways to reject this hegemony and marginalization. Expression and assertion of the cultures oppressed must be made public. Forms of cultural practice revive and resuscitate exploited cultures, allowing them to be recognized and re-establish the power they rightfully possess. Community events and community participation bolster cultural values and practice and have been shown to lead to improved community wellbeing. From Pow Wows to local farmers markets, the participation of the community leads to an increased social unity from which a higher level of social organization is achieved. Community cohesion is the backbone from which cultural values can be expressed, accepted and appreciated. Only once the individual culture is understood can community development begin.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

In addition to the social conditions and contexts of communities, they are always situated in specific physical environments. Physical environments offer resources and opportunities, as well as limitations and constraints. Arable portions of land can be used to grow crops while other portions provide areas for pastures and natural resources such as timber. Areas suitable for basic infrastructure are also essential. Environmental

practice then becomes an important element in the maintenance of the physical community. The physical environment is the foundation on which the community can survive at the basic level of necessity. Food security, respectable environmental practice to prevent or slow land degradation, global and regional trade, and attempts at increasing production are essential to keeping the community physical environment a stable and habitable location. Though this thesis will focus on food security measures and issues, trade, genetically modified organisms, and environmental damage, it is important to note, that there are many other physical requirements to communities that will not be addressed such as watershed management, resource extraction, deforestation and more. Any community development activity must be compatible with the features of the physical environment that are addressed. At the core of environmental issues that need to be attended to by community development efforts is the foundational relationship that humans have with their physical environments—meeting our basic needs. These include "...adequate standards of nutrition, health, shelter, water and sanitation..." (Streeten, Burki, Haq, Hicks & Stuart, 1981).

Food and Agricultural Security

Food security is a crucial concern in 'underdeveloped' communities. Multiple human rights conventions, including the Human Rights Committee (1982), Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) and the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights have declared the right to food a necessity stating that "It comprises a right of availability and access to food, embodying the principles of sustainability (ongoing

supply) and utilization (adequate nutrition for a person's metabolic requirements)" (Hawkes & Plahe, 2012; 22).

Lacking the economic wealth and resources to import, and produce food and agriculture leaves communities and regions hungry. A recent poll suggested that the number of people who have been labelled chronically undernourished between 2010 and 2012 is almost 870 million, a vast majority of the undernourished live in countries labeled 'developing' (The Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, 2012). This number is unacceptably high. The average daily calorie supply per person in India is 2000-2500 calories (sufficient for a healthy individual), yet people in India still starve as approximately 50 percent of the household income is spent on food opposed to the United States' 14 percent (Millstone & Lang, 2008: 18). This disparity suggests that it is not an issue of food shortage in India that leaves 50 percent of people hungry, but rather an imbalance in the distribution of food supplies that is at fault. South America is seeing increased malnutrition levels as many subsistence crops are being converted to crops for export. This makes it difficult to meet basic nutritional needs now that very little product is kept for domestic consumption (Haviland, Kilmurray, Fedorak & Lee, 2013: 371). Again, it is not a supply issue, but a distribution challenge.

Land Use for Agriculture and Food

As a possible solution to issues of food production in some regions, Kagabo, Stroosnijder, Visser & Moore (2013) conducted a study to examine the soil erosion, soil fertility and crop yield on slow-forming terraces in the highlands of Buberuka, Rwanda. The study hypothesized that slow-forming terraces would reduce soil loss and soil

fertility gradients compared to non-conserved land. Slow-forming terraces effectively divide sections of land on hilly terrain into a staircase-like structure. According to Gonzales de Olarte & Trivelli (1999), slow-forming terraces have four main functions:

- 1) Improve the natural conditions for agricultural production;
- 2) Decrease the rate of erosion;
- 3) Increase soil moisture; and
- 4) Generate positive environmental benefits.

This type of agriculture can be extremely beneficial to rural communities looking to increase economic wealth via agricultural production. More importantly, this form of agricultural production utilizes hilly regions which would otherwise be idle or obsolete. They are aptly named as they can take anywhere from three to ten years to form into an arable surface for maximum yield. Even so, they are suitable to plant a wide variety of crops from cereals to potatoes to vineyards in regions where the ecology and topography does not allow for other forms of agricultural activities (Dercon et al., 2003: 32). Dercon et al., (2003: 40) found that soil quality was greater on the upper terraces than the lower terraces, though the lower terraces still had superior soil quality to that of flatlands. Depending on the physical environments that a community is situated in, this kind of agricultural ‘development’ might be appropriate for addressing issues of production. As noted above, however, production is not always the problem. As such what is also needed is strategies that deal with the distribution of food supplies, a point that I will return to shortly.

The Effects of Genetically Modified Organisms on the World Food Industry

Genetically modified organisms, or GMOs, place great pressure on food security and the environment. They are the technological innovation from which mass production industrialized agriculture and factory farming can exist. In a ten year span from 1996 to 2006, production of GM crops worldwide has increased from 1.7 million hectares to 102 million hectares; an increase of 6,000 percent (Milstone & Lang, 2008: 44-45). With the increase of GMOs, the need for pesticides, herbicides and non-organic fertilizers increases simultaneously. Furthermore, GM crops are difficult to control. Once released into the environment, they cross pollinate very easily and forcibly consume non-GM crops resulting in decreased biodiversity. Biodiversity is the expanse of heterogeneity in organic life forms as distinguished by the biological kingdoms. The variation in crops is an important measure against pests and diseases (Millstone & Lang, 2008: 58). The most notable incident of monoculture extinction is the Irish potato blight in 1846 which wiped out potato crops all across the country resulting in widespread famine. This led to the death of 1 million people and the emigration of another 1 million to other parts of the world.

Another issue regarding GM crops is the patenting of seeds. As GM crops begin to dominate globe, so do transnational corporations (TNCs) that own the seeds. The TNCs Monsanto, Dupont and Syngenta collectively own 47 percent of the total market share for seed distribution, Monsanto alone accounted for 23 percent of this. 87 percent of the global area planted with genetically engineered seeds in 2007 was a result of Monsanto (Clapp, 2012: 106). Monopolization – the ultimate goal for these TNCs –

would lead to complete control on world food supplies. Already countries are being pressured to accept GM crops, and in cases such as Zambia, denied food support without the acceptance of GM foods (Walters, 2006: 30) during times of food insecurity.

‘Developing’ nations, specifically in Africa, are experiencing extreme pressures to accept surpluses of GM foods. Other countries such as Mexico are experiencing “dumping” – a process by which surplus stocks are sold in ‘underdeveloped’ countries at below market price, undercutting local and smaller-scale farmers and ultimately putting them out of business. Zambian Minister Sikatana (2004) asserts that “Food is a weapon of mass destruction. It is used by some countries to control and pressure the poorer African nations” (as cited in Walters, 2006: 30). The fight over GMOs has led to food insecurity and economic instability in ‘underdeveloped’ nations and communities. It directly negatively impacts communities’ food and agricultural supply, leaving them in a state of malnutrition and poverty, unable to support or build a stable environment to live in.

The example of transnational corporations’ monopoly over the production and distribution of GMO seeds and supplies illustrates an example of how as a result of globalized capital expansion the “First World” creates the conditions of insecurity, in this case food insecurity. By dominating the market and the power relations, transnational corporations are in a position to control world food supplies and ultimately dictate the ebb and flow of agriculture and food products around the world. This puts strains on communities and nations that are already hungry. Transnational corporations have the power to end world hunger, yet they continue to let people starve in search of higher profits.

Trade

The problem of food insecurity, then, is not one of supply. As noted, it is one of distribution. As capitalism is the dominant mode of exchange by which food supplies are moved and distributed, much of food insecurity is a result of global capitalist trade. According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation (2012), the world is currently producing enough food to satisfy world hunger. The problem however is the inequality that results from trade and global distribution leaving ‘developing’ countries in debt, unable to afford or compete in global markets. In 2001, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) amended their previous trade-negotiation round, the Uruguay Round, and developed the current trade-negotiation round: the Doha Round. The Doha Round sought to liberalize global trade by lowering tariffs and trade borders.

Many food rights advocates expressed that the WTO undermined human rights by manipulating international trade laws to ignore, rather than integrate human rights law. Large agricultural exporters from China, India and Brazil, among others, contended dissatisfaction with the Doha Round, claiming it increased North-South imbalances—imbalances that run directly along “First” / “Third” World lines. ‘Developing’ countries did not benefit from the amendments as promised by the WTO, while the ‘developed’ countries increasingly prospered (Hawkes & Plahe, 2012; 30). Much like the Puerto Ricans in Philippe Bourgois’ ethnography, the division of power and labour has led to the suppression of countries and cultures. This inequality is responsible for poverty, crime and most importantly hunger of these ‘developing’ countries.

Localization

Trade, however, might not be the answer according to some. Martinez et al., (2010) examine the expansion of local food markets and their implications on local economy. On top of subsidizing imports, locally produced fruits, vegetables and meat products would increase output, employment, and labour incomes – specifically in Iowa (Swenson, 2008). Martinez et al., (2010) support the expansion of local food markets as a ‘development’ strategy for rural areas. First, local food systems may encourage growth in local labour markets (Roininen et al., 2006). Less input and support from larger corporations or transnational corporations open up the employment market for community members. Secondly, if community members purchase food produced locally instead of imports, the income received from that purchase is more likely to stay within the community and be seen by local individuals and businesses.

So if local food trade networks are possible solutions, what is local? There is no generally accepted term for “local” in the food market as it is a geographically unfixed entity (Martinez et al., 2010: 5). The term does embrace the concept of the direct connection from producer to consumer with the idea of fresh and home-grown quality not seen or experienced with commercial goods. With this idea, small-scale farmers are more recognized and empowered and with it, their businesses become more profitable. The reason for this is that more people have access to the means of production, meaning that they have access to the profits produced in the transaction. This is in opposition to the multinational corporation model of production and consumption that insists that only they have ownership of the means of production.

But all transactions are not capitalist. Social networks also form and are maintained through localized market exchanges. A space opens up for other kinds of exchange.

Reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange are all viable options at the local level. Reciprocity is the exchange of goods and services of approximately equal value. At the local level, this allows for a more personal and connective exchange (Haviland, Kilmurray, Fedorak & Lee, 2013: 131). Relationships are a possible benefit from this as the personal aspect of this requires social interaction and communication. These alternate forms of market and exchange (ie. local and reciprocity) serve to both reduce the monopoly of TNCs upon food as well as improve social and community cohesion by increasing personal communication and relationships.

Fair Trade

The reality is, however, that many farmers must export or sell products for profit. This does not exclude them from also engaging in other modes of exchange as part of their overall subsistence strategy, but it does mean that most need to be linked to a broader capitalist market in some capacity. The notion of Fair Trade is an alternative approach to the trade system focused on ever-increased profit and the accumulation of capital. Rather, the focus is on equitable trade negotiations designed to have producers receive adequate payment for their products (Fair Trade International, 2011). The Fair Trade Federation sees trade as force for positive change; “We value trading relationships that distribute power, risks and rewards more equitably. We believe that trade should be used as a tool to help alleviate poverty, reduce inequality, and create opportunities for people to help themselves” (Fair Trade Federation, 2013). They also strive to achieve fair compensation for producers as well as a healthy work environment.

It is these organizations and federations that need to be popularized and made present through infrastructural community development. Fair Trade allows producers such as farmers to actually make a living rather than just scraping by. A Fair Trade Premium is paid on top of the agreed Fair Trade price. How it is used is decided democratically, but often it is invested in education, healthcare, agricultural improvements or processing facilities to increase income (Fair Trade International, 2011). Furthermore, Fair Trade empowers farmers and workers and with increased morale, both production and social unity increase simultaneously. Lastly, Fair Trade increases stability of prices by covering the costs of sustainable production (Fair Trade International, 2011). Other Fair Trade organizations, such as the World Fair Trade Organization, list in their principles the guarantee no child or forced labour and commitment to non-discrimination, gender equity and freedom of association (World Fair Trade Organization, 2013).

The notion of Fair Trade has implications far beyond the initial transaction. The increase in economic wealth sees that education, healthcare and community infrastructure benefit also. It assists in overall community wellbeing and encourages the producers to maintain a level of quality that they can transfer to other aspects of their life and community.

Climate Change

Climate change is a major concern with the sustainability of arable and liveable land. Current predictions show reduced outputs of agriculture in South Asia (primarily India) and Sub-Saharan Africa. An increase in tropical storms and rising sea levels are affecting arable and liveable land also (Millstone & Lang, 2008). Canada has experienced

an average temperature increase of 1.6 degrees Celsius between 1948 and 2010. Future warming will be accompanied by other changes, including the amount and distribution of rain, snow, and ice and the risk of extreme weather events such as heat waves, heavy rainfalls and related flooding, droughts, and forest fires (Government of Canada, Climate Change, 2012). Implications of this on ‘developing’ countries and communities could be severe as many of these places do not have access to the resources to battle the affects of climate change or adapt to it. In planning of a community development program, it is important to account for both clean use of resources and the possible degradation of land and resources that may result from climate change.

David Suzuki (2010) points to both smart food consumption and transportation as viable options for reducing climate change. Both of these directly correlate with ‘developing’ communities. First off, smart food consumption, according to Suzuki, involves choosing local, organic and seasonal foods. These also have impacts – as aforementioned – on the social environment by improving community relationships and social unity. Secondly, wise forms of transportation can lead to reduced greenhouse gas emissions which directly affect the increase of global temperature. Such forms of transportation may include simply walking or riding a bike for small scale purposes, finding more efficient ways of transporting commercial goods, or even reducing import and consuming local products.

Natural Resource Management – Environmental Sustainability

The physical environment provides the groundwork for which the community can exist at an infrastructural level. Natural resource management “...is about how people

and natural landscapes interact” (Natural Resource Commission, 1968). The co-existence of nature with anthropogenic actions is a relationship that must be cohesive and solid. Any disconnection between people and land puts strain upon food and agricultural production and infrastructural ‘development’, which in turn affects the economy. Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) is grounded upon economic subsidies to adopt and conserve land for tourism purposes (Silva & Mosimane, 2012: 26); therefore the success of CBNRM is often correlated with the amount of the subsidy. Organizations such as the Natural Resource Commission (2012: 2) assert the importance of community involvement in the process of CBNRM. Community involvement not only improves social cohesion through community based activities, but also increases the contingency that the community will continue to see environmental benefits through the upkeep of sustainable CBNRM methods.

POSSIBLE SOLUTION - TOURISM

Rural communities are often short on jobs, resources and other sources of income. As a result, many look to tourism as a source of income. Tourism can be extremely profitable but has some key issues to address and questions that must be answered to see if tourism is indeed right for a community. When considering tourism development, it is important to understand who the ‘development’ is for? Is the community a destination, or a resource? The tourism industry can be extremely lucrative, but can be extremely exploitative also. So ultimately we must ask the question: is this tourism benefiting the community or reinforcing an exploitative relationship?

One way of determining the degree of exploitation of any tourism development project is to measure the 'leakage' that occurs and the distribution of profit. Trejos & Chiang (2009: 373) define leakage as "...earnings spent outside of the local economy to cater to tourism in distant or peri-urban rural contexts, most notably on imports of food and drinks, of capital and technology, as well as advertising and additional government expenditure on tourism infrastructure." It is calculated by gross tourist expenditure that remains locally after taxes, profits, and wages are paid outside the area and after imports are purchased (United Nations Environment Programme, 2013). In order to establish a sustainable tourism project for the purpose of community development it is crucial that the project be by the community, for the community, and that the majority of profits yielded remain in the control of community members themselves. Any external support must be only that: support. The final goal is to have the community be able to maintain and sustain their own tourism business for local profit. Trejos & Chiang (2009) suggest that current levels of leakages associated with community-based tourism projects are becoming problematic. We see this through "imports of food and drinks, of capital and technology, as well as advertising and additional government expenditure on tourism infrastructure" (Trejos & Chiang, 2009: 373). These methods of economic wealth seek only to benefit expatriates and foreign investors by bypassing local resources. The community becomes dependent upon these companies for the straggling funds they leave. The tourism industry in cases such as this no longer assists the community, but rather run the community. That is to say, these communities now rely upon external resources that exploit the local culture in search of a higher profit. The leakages leave the community unpaid for the resources that they supply such as their physical environment and

landscape. This suppresses the people into a place of poverty where their only option is to keep relying on this external and exploitative support. This is exactly where tourism based community development fails as a method of enhancing community life.

Volunteer Tourism

Volunteer tourism – sometimes referred to as ‘Voluntourism’ – is an opportunity for those with common interests to connect and willingly participate in acts designed to enhance the lives of others (Comerford and Fambrough 2002). It “...may impact participants’ lives by providing a community of individuals with common goals and values, providing fertile ground for both the development of networks and consciousness-raising experiences” (McGehee & Santos, 2004: 764). It is a chance to both explore new cultures, customs and lifestyles as well as assist those whom need support. Most often, voluntourism is based around community development work. These expeditions are not only designed to address specific problems, though. Volunteer tourism allows people to see what only experience can show people, In its best and most idealistic form, it brings money into communities and exposes the truth of lifestyles of other cultures (Dobrovolny, 2012: 59).

Volunteer tourism requires a push/pull method as described by Grimm and Needham (2011). The push factor is what drives a person from their homeland to another place and the pull factor is what it is about a certain location that draws the volunteer there. Grimm and Needham suggest that the “...push motivations for volunteering abroad include both altruistic (e.g., to help) and self-interested reasons,” (2010: 489) and advocate that altruism is what separates volunteers from standard tourists.

Although there may be many pull factors involved in voluntourism, Grimm and Needham (2010: 489) address a few specifically. They suggest that people are drawn (pull motivation) to ‘developing’ countries under the assumption that these countries need help. They express that “...less work has examined attributes that pulled people to specific projects and sites, [...] some reasons included project opportunities, program benefits, location, and personal recommendations” (Grimm, Needham 2010: 490). In addition, the authors suggest that environmental aspects (eg. beaches, landscape, mountains) may contribute to selection as well. Further research in pull methods of communities may prove beneficial to volunteer organizations.

Communities also benefit from voluntourism by the economic wealth associated with volunteer programs. “Volunteers bring money. So many of our children attending school, their fees are paid for by former volunteers” (Dobrovolny, 2012: 59). The money donated and brought in by volunteers does more than send children to school; it funds housing, watershed projects, healthcare facilities and practice. As well, it supports local businesses which profit from volunteer spending. Money is in great shortage in most ‘underdeveloped’ countries. Although money does not solve all problems, it may fund part of the solution.

Key issues of global inequalities are exposed through volunteer tourism, expanding people’s knowledge and understanding of what is occurring and what needs to be done to resolve these issues. A study conducted by McGehee and Santos (2004: 761) suggested that voluntourism has a positive effect on social activism. When a volunteer returns to their home country or community, they may bring with them the knowledge they have gained and impart it upon others, thereby spreading the understanding of

‘development’ issues around the world. This is perhaps the greatest indirect benefit of voluntourism. Furthermore, the sharing that occurs may inspire others to learn, partake or contribute also.

McGhee and Santos (2004: 760) also propose the need for “...coordinating organizations to provide opportunities for the establishment of network ties and/or consciousness-raising experiences both during and after the volunteer tourism experience” (2004). These social ties help promote and produce awareness of the poverty and ‘underdevelopment’ that is actively hidden around the world. On the whole, voluntourism can provide significant impacts both by the assistance it provides to communities directly, but also by the knowledge and information it can impart and share outside the community. It serves as a source of awareness of the current conditions of communities and human sufferings that are constantly swept under the rug.

The key to voluntourism, however, is still community involvement. The projects – although assisted by volunteers and most often a non-government organization (NGO) – must still be a project for the community, by the community. Furthermore, the communities must not feel as though their poverty or suffering is on display. It must not be a showcase for touristic gaze. They have welcomed tourists into their community for experiential assistance as well as experiential learning. Therefore, voluntourism must be viewed as a conjoined learning experience for both parties. Under these circumstances, volunteer tourism programs can improve living standards for communities by improving infrastructure, social connections, and education. Additionally, volunteer tourism programs provide volunteers with experiential learning, cultural understanding and a

sense of self accomplishment through altruistic activities. Voluntourism ultimately benefits both parties involved providing the correct criteria is met.

Eco-Tourism

Eco Tourism is defined as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people" (The International Eco Tourism Society, 1990). The International Eco Tourism Society (TIES) expresses six key principles involved in ecotourism:

1. Minimize impact
2. Build environmental and cultural awareness and respect
3. Provided positive experiences for both visitors and hosts
4. Provide direct financial benefits for conservation
5. Provide financial benefits and empowerment for local people
6. Raise sensitivity to host countries' political, environmental and social climate.

(The International Eco Tourism Society, 2012)

Essentially, it is about uniting conservation, communities and sustainable travel. Silva & Mosimane (2012) acknowledge Eco Tourism (nature tourism) as a successful means for promoting rural economic 'development' in remote areas of southern Africa. This is because these strategies often implement Community Based Natural Resource Management (Silva & Mosimane 2012: 25). It is important to note that Eco Tourism is not strictly an environmental concept, but cultural as well. It is the relationship of communities and culture with the natural environment.

The romantic idea of Eco Tourism guides and assists tourists around the world to remote areas which are becoming of great interest and popularity. It is these areas that need the strict principles of ecotourism as they are the most susceptible to cultural and environmental destruction (Scheyvens, 1999: 245). Tomlinson & Getz (1996: 183) suggest that Eco Tourism has developed into a marketing ploy. Although a viable idea, it is possible that the term Eco Tourism has become so liberalized that its true meaning has been lost or overlooked in the quest for expanding the tourism industry.

With that in mind, Eco Tourism has been seen to provide many benefits to communities and surrounding environment. First, much like any other tourism operation, it must be established that Eco Tourism is not controlled entirely by foreign operators, but rather guided by external support in an effort to create sustainable Eco Tourism. A community based approach to Eco Tourism must acknowledge and "...promote both the quality of life of people *and* the conservation of resources" (Scheyvens, 1999: 246). Eco Tourism can be used as a community empowering technique as see by Scheyvens (1999: 247). Scheyvens (1999) breaks empowerment down into four sub categories: economic empowerment, psychological empowerment, social empowerment and political empowerment. From this the author establishes a framework which can be applied to both western and 'developing' countries. Scheyvens does however suggest that because this framework is associated with the concept of empowerment, it may be more applicable to "examining the extent to which indigenous people, or other disadvantaged groups, are benefiting from ecotourism" (Scheyvens, 1999: 247).

Eco Tourism has been noted to have both positive and negative effects on tourism development as well as social and environmental community development. The social

construction of a community as well as the physical, natural environment can benefit from Eco Tourism provided the more concrete terms of Eco Tourism are met rather than the nebulous and liberalized term that is occasionally tossed around for marketing ploys for profit.

Problems Associated with Tourism

Many low income communities look to tourism as a source of profit. The economic wealth that tourism efforts and programs bring to communities both directly and indirectly can provide significant relief to poverty stricken areas. There can, however, be issues associated with the wealthy tourists; most notably a form of apartheid can be created as a result of entrenching global social inequalities into the production of tourist spaces.. More specific than the social hierarchy discussed earlier is a form of racial separation, or apartheid. This is the separation of the non-white (local) community from the white (tourist) community. This kind of segregation is often associated with the difference access to power and privilege of the white tourists versus non-white local community. In much the same way Puerto Ricans residents of El Barrio in Philippe Bourgois' *In Search of Respect* were steeped in the hegemonic belief that they were of lesser social status, many Cubans in Cuba suffer the same discriminatory treatment. Roland (2011) examined the effects of tourism on Cuban "La Lucha," or, everyday life. Although tourism is also being discussed here as a potential tool in community development, it is important to note here that it can never been seen as a 'magic bullet' saviour in community development effort. There are many important social and

environmental issues and impacts that must be discussion if we are going to talk about tourism as a possible agent of community development.

Roland argues that “...the same tourism that props up the socialist system also significantly challenges the system’s ideology by reasserting prerevolutionary meanings of race and class on a transnational, yet intrapersonal plane” (Roland, 2011: 3). In essence, the current system of tourism will always segregate and differentiate cultures by race and class. These divisions emerge along “First” and “Third” World lines. When a white traveler from a colonial country visits Cuba, inevitably the Cubans will see themselves as black, creating a racialized apartheid that mirrors relations of global inequalities. With them, tourists bring money to spend, which symbolizes the class differential and further entrenches apartheid lines that run along a “have” and “have not” divide. Roland illustrates the ways that international tourism can, and often does, provide a reflective surface upon which global structural ‘First’/ ‘Third’ / ‘developed’ / ‘developing’ worlds interact in ways that reinforce structures of inequality.

All Expenses Paid Vacations

All expenses paid vacations have become increasingly popular for their ease and First World comforts in ‘underdeveloped’ areas. Cruise ships offer a unique tourism experience. Most often they travel the exotic and warm areas of the globe offering a relaxing sea voyage with the comforts of First World countries. Their stops at ports of call are centred around duty free shopping and casinos in which guests have a limited time to spend as much as they can. (Patullo, 2004: 340). The boats themselves are predicated on the notion of size – “the bigger, the better” – offering all the amenities of

land based activities including waterslides, pools with sand bars, nightclubs, shopping, sports facilities and more. Really there is no need to leave the boat at all.

Past the glamour and excitement of the cruise ship atmosphere these monstrosities boast both environment and social adverse effects. Peter Odle of the Barbados Hotel Association is quoted as saying “The cruise ships are using our most precious asset – the sea – polluting it like hell and not making any significant contribution to our economy” (Patullo, 2004: 343). As of 2004, there were no cruise ships owned by Caribbean Nationals. Cruise ship companies are in a thriving and expanding business and exploit weaker governments with valuable resources (Patullo, 2004: 344). Leakages associated with cruise ships are huge as most of the shopping and casinos at ports of call are funded and built by the cruise ship lines themselves. This means that very little profit is seen by the local communities that endure the environmental and social impacts that the cruise ships leave in their wake. Local culture is marginalized in the name of multi-national profit resulting in significant disruptions to social unity. Cruise ship companies stir already unsettled governments who scramble for income to support their fragile economy but in doing so only cause more destruction.

In a similar manner, many all-inclusive resorts have established industry based solely upon the exploitation of ‘underdeveloped’ areas rich in tourism desirable resources; namely beaches, warm weather, and cheap labour. With claims of bringing wealth and tourism to communities, these resorts monopolize a region, confining non-guests to outside the borders of the premises. Portions of beaches and cities are quarantined for paying customers to experience “First World” luxuries in tropical settings. Discouraged to venture outside the confines of the walls lest they see the

marginalized cultures of the local community tourists become agents in maintaining these apartheid-like lines. Smith (2004: 359) suggests that "...tourism development serves the national elite by stabilizing (at least in the short term) their dominant position and more importantly by encouraging and even requiring socioeconomically 'divergent' groups to adopt lifestyles geared to the commoditization for tourism process." That is to say, those that Smith (2004) classifies as elite will use their material and non-material capital to reinforce tourism efforts to suit their needs and wants. They displace the indigenous culture in the process of expanding the tourism industry. This is especially so with the all-inclusive resorts. These are built solely for, and to the needs and desires of tourists alone. Displacement of the local community is of no concern and ultimately damages their culture, income and social organizations by disrupting unity.

Both the cruise ship industry and all-inclusive resorts within 'underdeveloped' communities ultimately reinforce and reactivate the racial apartheid that occurs between the rich white, and the poor non-white. By segregating tourists from the communities they are situated in, economic wealth is seen only by expatriates and foreign investors. Tourists are not exposed to the cultures they are actually situated in, nor are they exposed to the standards of living in the local community. As tourists expand their all-expenses paid get-away, the resources of communities are further exploited and the borders of the community begin to shrink, ultimately putting pressure on community's ability to generate income, and maintain an acceptable standard of living and wellbeing.

Theories for Tourism Community Development

One common method of measuring the success of a tourism enterprise for the sake of sustainable community development is the model of Triple Bottom Line, or TBL. TBL is a way of categorizing expenditures into three fields: Social, economic and environment. Ideally, for successful tourism company would meet all three of these aspects in ways that provide meaningful benefit to a community. The TBL approach has been noted as being successful in the tourism industry and its applications for the purpose of community development has positive implications.

Capacity building has also become an important feature for ‘development.’ Capacity building can be described in terms of social and political relationships (Eade, 1997: 23). It is a method of facilitating and encouraging community growth in these areas. Another description of capacity building within communities suggests that it is “‘local solutions to local problems’ which enable communities to deal with problems, ultimately without relying on external resources” (Atkinson & Willis: 2). Atkinson and Willis outline six goals that crucial to community capacity building addresses:

1. Organise and plan together
2. Develop healthy lifestyle options
3. Empower themselves
4. Reduce poverty and suffering
5. Create employment and economic opportunities
6. Achieve social, economic, cultural and environmental goals together

These goals are the backbone of any community development plan. What makes them unique in regards to capacity building is that they are laid out in a manner in which community members can achieve these on their own. They become, as Atkinson and

Willis say, 'local solutions to local problems.' This reconstitutes the third goal of self-empowerment, also. A self-empowered community is driven, cohesive and culturally stable. Capacity building directly supports these three aspects of community development and serves to bolster community progression.

CONCLUSION

Many current development plans seek to homogenize the needs of communities, essentially categorizing 'underdevelopment' as one entity – often this is an equating label of the 'Third World.' In order to develop a plan that will meet the needs and desires of each community, it is important to unpack the notion of 'underdevelopment' as it applies to each community. Only then can we begin to gain an understanding of the social and physical operations that situate the community in its current state of 'underdevelopment.'

Escobar's (1994) research in deconstructing the notions of the Third World and 'underdevelopment' was important as it recognizes the need for change on a smaller scale first before expanding. "...There are no easy solutions," says Escobar. The unmaking of the Third World is "...slow and painful" (1994: 217). He also goes on to suggest the importance in keeping solutions small and local. Although only a brief nod to it, Escobar (1994) proposes that a potential site of such solutions is the idea of hybrid cultures in places such as Latin America where tradition has not yet left and modernity not yet monopolized local cultural contexts. As projected by Escobar, these hybrid cultures would allow tradition and cultural practice to remain while facing modernity head on. Albeit these cultures do not yet exist, it does warrant further research.

As mentioned Samuel Huntington (1996: 3) stated that the great division of civilizations will not be economical, but rather cultural. As Huntington (1996) suggests, global hierarchies are present and reinforced by cultural differences. This is also true for the local level, where cultures and communities are marginalized as a result unequal power and labour distributions. This can be absolved examining social organization and structure. In examining these, we can determine how any efforts can work with the distribute power and labour so that it may be congruent with current cultural values and lifestyles. By working with a community's ideologies, implemented strategies are more likely to be accepted and maintained. These strategies must reduce social inequalities but must also speak to cultural gender and age systems and beliefs.

In keeping with the idea of the importance of cultural context, it is important that communities be able to express their beliefs and culture. The promotion of culture through cultural practice and community events and participation has been seen to improve community wellbeing as well as improve social cohesion. This is exemplified through the Aboriginal Friendship Centres across Canada, North American Native Pow Wows, and local farmers markets; all which ultimately encourage personal relationships and improve social unity. Furthermore, these promotions of culture act as support in decreasing social marginalization and inequality thus reducing linkages of 'underdevelopment' caused by crime, poverty, and powerlessness.

Steady social organization is the key to the foundation of a successful community development plan. It is only through understanding each community's individual social organization that a sustainable community development plan can be accomplished before

moving on to address other such aspects as the physical environment and the effects of external methods of support and assistance discussed throughout this thesis.

Implications of the physical environment on community development are huge. The differences in physical environments contribute to how communities are structured and live. After establishing a sound and unified social community it is then time to address the physical needs and workings of an individual community and its environment. Perhaps one of the most pressing issues to 'underdeveloped' communities is that of food security. Often, shortages in domestic stocks are not a result of production, but rather distribution. Places such as South America have seen an increase in the numbers of malnourished people as a result of subsistence crops being converted to export crops (Haviland, Kilmurray, Fedorak & Lee, 2013: 371). According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (2012) the world currently produces enough food to support the global population, and thus the problem of food security is trade.

Transnational corporations currently control too much of the world's food supply and dictate access to food by regulating and dominating the global food and trade markets. Methods of food security on the local level can be achieved through select processes. Local markets have numerous benefits including promoting and supporting local farmers, stabilizing the local economy by spending money and keeping it within the community, increasing job opportunities, as well as improving and creating new personal relationships of community members, thereby improving social unity.

Improving local farming strategies can also improve local food stocks. Making use of previously useless land such as hillsides can be transformed into extremely beneficial plots. Tactics such as slow-forming terraces make use of hillsides and provide improved

soil quality and water retention to increase and augment agricultural yield. Many countries don't utilize as much of local resources for production as they can. India, for example utilizes "...only about 40 percent of the available 2.36 million hectares of ponds and tanks for freshwater aquaculture" (Food and Agriculture Organisation [FAO] Fisheries and Aquaculture Department Statistics, 2011). The main goal here is to subsidize the subsistence crops being converted to export with more subsistence crops so that domestic food supply does not decrease. This can be accomplished by utilizing previously unused land.

For many 'developing' countries genetically modified organisms (GMOs) are the fastest and cheapest way of increasing production, output and yield. Unfortunately GMOs have many adverse negative effects. First off, the ability to control the spread of GMO products is extremely difficult; this leads to a decrease in biodiversity which ultimately threatens food variability as a result of crop diseases which have the potential to wipe out entire species of crops. Furthermore, the patenting of GMO seeds by TNCs such as Monsanto creates and increases food insecurity as they begin to control more and more of the world's food stocks. They possess and have exercised the ability to deny food support to countries not wishing to accept GMO products, thereby denying them food altogether. Lastly, farmers are in large amounts of debt to TNCs which they cannot possibly repay due to their dependency on GMO products that are licensed and patented by TNCs.

Essentially, global trade is the primary reason for food insecurity. Global trade is run by TNCs of the First World. These companies that create this hierarchy of food are partly responsible for maintaining the Third World and the notion of 'underdevelopment.' Their quest for increased profit only further marginalize and exploit already affected

nations. Trade agreements such as the Doha Round attempt to rectify the current damaging trade laws, but have no promising affects as they are also subject to the power to the all-powerful TNCs. In order to even the balance between ‘developed’ and ‘underdeveloped’ trade laws must be amended successfully.

There are other solutions to bolstering and supporting local communities.. As seen in a social setting, community participation leads to increased community wellbeing; the example being local farmers markets. These markets also have economical impacts. They promote local job opportunities and businesses. By doing so, money is more likely to stay within the community and be seen by local individuals and businesses within the community. As well these markets provide opportunity for other forms of market trade such as reciprocity.

For many producers, trade is a requirement for income. Trade can be successful provided the producer is represented and compensated appropriately. Fair Trade has seen enormous impacts on the livelihoods of farmers and producers alike. The idea of Fair Trade is now worldwide and has seen to benefit communities by ascertaining they are paid fair wages for their product. Furthermore, Fair Trade promotes healthy and sanitary working conditions for employees. The benefits also extend beyond direct wages for producers. The increase in economic wealth sees that education, healthcare and community infrastructure benefit also. The only issue associated with Fair Trade is the possible unequal distribution of wages within a community. For example, Fair Trade farmers may be selected at random. In a community of multiple farmers who are producing equal yield but not receiving the Fair Trade wage their neighbour is could potentially disrupt social unity and community cohesion.

With the increased measures for food security comes environmental damage. Anthropogenic actions directly affect the impacts of climate change. In planning a program for community development, it is important to account for both clean use of resources and the possible degradation of land and resources that may result from climate change. Climate change is inevitable, though at what rate is determined by how we choose to organize and strategize our ‘development’ both globally and at a local level. As suggested by Suzuki (2010), small changes such as wise food choices (local) and personal transportation methods have resounding impacts on greenhouse gas emissions. Other methods for supporting the local environment include Community Based Natural Resource Management which seeks to unify the relationship between a community and its environment. This is achieved through community participation in environmental preservation and safe practices. CBNRM also has social implications. Much like other community events and participation, it can improve social cohesion and relationships on top of its environmental prosperities.

Tourism has been regarded as a possible solution for community development and improving community wellbeing. Efforts to improve the tourism population have seen to increase economic wealth, infrastructure and job opportunities. Volunteer tourism has seen to benefit ‘developing’ communities beyond economic support. Voluntourism has strong ties with mutual learning – that is, both the volunteer and the local community learn from each other. Furthermore, voluntourism has seen to have indirect effects. When volunteers return home, they impart the knowledge they have learned, spread awareness of global issues, and promote other volunteer efforts.

Sometimes associated with voluntourism is the concept of Eco Tourism. This concept is also important in the quest for tourism community development. Its principles of building environmental and cultural awareness and respect along with minimizing tourism impact upon both the environment and local culture make it an important contributor to sustainable tourism community development. It shares many ideas with reducing anthropogenic associations with climate change and applies them to the tourism industry. Although this label may be overused and or used too liberally, any efforts at reducing tourism impact while maintaining the benefits tourism presents are considered advantageous.

There are, however attributes of tourism to be aware of. The act of tourism seeks to explore and view new cultures and environments. We must be careful that in visiting communities that they are not interpreting tourism as if they are on display for the tourist gaze. That is to say, they are not items at which tourists go to view and sympathize over. Tourism community development is a method of encouragement and support. The community should never feel marginalized or of lesser social status. Inevitably a racial apartheid will be created as a result of the white and non-white encounters. Tourism, by nature, implies a certain level of economic wealth that poorer regions of the globe cannot relate to. The example given of a white traveler in Cuba shows how the racial apartheid is created. A local, non-white citizen sees the white traveler with money and sees themselves as black, without money. On the other side, the white traveler sees a non-white citizen without an economic surplus and similarly makes a comparison. White is then associated with upper classes both politically and socially (Roland, 2011: 23) . In community development projects, efforts must be made to reduce and dismantle the

images created as a result of this power and wealth disparity, thereby disassembling the racial apartheid that hinders tourism community development. Only then can tourism based community development flourish and be a solution that community development programs are searching for.

In order to assess tourism based community development, there are two methods which can be applied: Triple Bottom Line, and examining capacity building. The Triple Bottom Line addresses tourism from three standpoints: social, environmental and economic. Essentially it seeks to address tourism community development in a manner that will create sustainability. Similarly, capacity building examines a community's success by their ability to solve problems on their own. It is "the local solution to local problems" (Atkinson & Willis: 2). Capacity building's goal of promoting and empowering the community to achieve success and sustainability is crucial and must be applied to tourism based community development.

Ultimately, this paper speaks to the need to address communities specifically from both a social and physical perspective. Only by understanding a community from both of these perspectives can 'development' begin. Furthermore, this research reveals the potential for tourism to have positive impacts on community development. Under the correct circumstances and providing it fits the community's wants and needs, tourism can possess the right attributes to improving a community. Still, the most important issue to consider is that 'development' programs must not be universal, but instead fit cultural, social and physical aspects of each community to be successful. This is the point at which 'development' can truly begin.

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